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International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

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Human Rights Committee

Concluding observations on the initial report of Djibouti

Addendum

Information received from Djibouti on follow-up to the concluding observations*

[Date received: 15 January 2015]

Applicability of the Covenant in domestic courts

In the light of the Committee's general comment No. 31 (2004) on the nature of the general legal obligation imposed on States parties to the Covenant, the State party should ensure that all rights protected under the Covenant are given full effect in its domestic legal order. The State party should take appropriate measures to raise awareness of the Covenant among judges, lawyers and prosecutors to ensure that its provisions are taken into account before and by domestic courts. The State party should include in its next periodic report examples of application of the Covenant by domestic courts. In this regard, it should take effective measures to widely disseminate the Covenant and the two Protocols thereto in Somali and Afar.

1. As the Committee has noted, article 37 of the Djiboutian Constitution states that ratified treaties form an integral part of domestic legislation and are therefore applicable in Djiboutian courts.

2. However, it should be noted that judges cannot, of their own motion, apply such treaties; they must be raised or invoked in court by defendants or lawyers.

3. As to awareness-raising and training activities, with the support of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and the National Human Rights Commission, in October 2014, the Government ran a training workshop on international and regional human rights protection mechanisms for civil society stakeholders and persons involved in the judicial system (judges, lawyers, administrative staff). The three-day workshop focused in particular on the following points:

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- The international human rights treaties, including the two Covenants;
- The Human Rights Council;
- The treaty bodies;
- The special procedures.

4. Lastly, the recommendation concerning the translation of the Covenant into the national languages (particularly Somali and Afar) and its dissemination has not yet been implemented, but will be as soon as possible. It is not an issue that poses any particular problems.

The National Human Rights Commission

The State party should take steps to strengthen the de facto independence of the National Human Rights Commission. At the same time, it should expedite the adoption of the current legislative proposals to establish a national human rights institution in line with the Paris Principles, guaranteeing a broad human rights mandate, ensuring its full independence and providing the Commission with adequate financial and human resources. The Committee encourages the State party to continue seeking the support and advice of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in this endeavour.

5. This recommendation has been fully implemented and the independence of the National Human Rights Commission has been reaffirmed and strengthened. On 20 July 2014, the Government adopted an act on the organization and functioning of the National Human Rights Commission. The new act repealed the decree of 23 April 2008 governing the Commission.

6. The new act was drafted as the result of a participatory process. It was submitted to the OHCHR for examination and the recommendations formulated by that body were taken into account.

7. Djibouti has relevant legislation which is in line with the Paris Principles.

8. Article 2 of the act is very clear in this regard: "In the interests of the independence and credibility of said Commission, no State body shall be authorized to intervene or interfere in its work."

Non-discrimination and equality between men and women

9. No studies have yet been carried out regarding the true extent of polygamy in Djiboutian society.

10. However, there is every reason to believe that polygamy is declining, if not disappearing.

11. Previously, polygamy was buoyed up by other practices which are less common nowadays, such as levirate or sororate.

12. A number of factors have led to polygamy being abandoned: the adoption of a sedentary lifestyle by nomadic groups; compulsory education and the increase in the number of schools; and the fact that girls remain in education for longer and go on to higher education and do not accept co-wife status.

13. As a result of modern lifestyles and globalization, the needs of families have grown and polygamy has become difficult to sustain economically.

14. Nowadays, polygamous men are often wealthy and women agree to become co-wives for various reasons.

15. Furthermore, polygamy is governed by the Family Code, under which first wives must be informed of any plans for a second marriage.

16. Awareness-raising and education campaigns are also run on a regular basis. Discussions, which are often lively but also fruitful, are held on the fundamental rights of women and, above all, on obstacles to women's self-fulfilment and their full participation in the process of national development.

17. Given the current attitudes, it is difficult to envisage bringing the various interpretations of sharia law into line with the Covenant. The population of Djibouti is 100 per cent Muslim and is not prepared to make any compromises regarding Islamic values.

Harmful traditional practices

The State party should increase its efforts to end and eradicate such harmful practices as female genital mutilation through targeted awareness-raising and education programmes, as well as through the application of the criminal law.

18. Like polygamy, the practice of female genital mutilation is declining as attitudes change.

19. Nowadays, young couples discuss the issue between themselves and resist any possible family pressure. Female genital mutilation is not a taboo subject and is discussed within the family.

20. There are a number of education and awareness-raising programmes targeting women, men and young people in communities in isolated areas where female genital mutilation is still carried out.

21. The recent involvement of men constitutes a step forward insofar as they are becoming aware of the complications involved in the practice of female genital mutilation and the related consequences for girls' and women's health. Men are now in a position to refuse to allow their daughters to undergo excision and to marry young girls who have not been subjected to excision. This is a very important development because the practice of female genital mutilation was maintained by women, who felt that young girls would be unable to find a husband if they had not undergone excision.

22. At the same time, in order to ensure that the criminal law is applied, significant efforts are being made to raise awareness, within civil society (regarding the possibility of joining proceedings as a private party) and among doctors (concerning the reporting of cases of young girls affected by complications following excision).

23. Such efforts are not confined to Djibouti; our country has, for the second time, organized a subregional conference to mark the International Day of Zero Tolerance for Female Genital Mutilation (6 February 2014). This event brought together government representatives, parliamentarians, civil society actors and religious and customary leaders from across the Horn of Africa.

Abortion

The State party should amend its legislation on abortion and make provision for additional exceptions, including access to abortion services in cases of pregnancy resulting from rape or incest. The State party should also strengthen its awareness-raising and education programmes on contraceptive methods, family planning and reproductive health in order to help women and girls avoid unwanted pregnancies and not resort to illegal abortions that could put their lives at risk.

24. Since 2011, family planning has been the responsibility of the Ministry for the Advancement of Women. A communication strategy and a multisectoral plan have been drawn up and implemented.

25. Joint awareness-raising and education campaigns are also run on a regular basis by the relevant ministries. The campaigns focus on the various methods of contraception, family planning and reproductive health and are targeted at women, men and youth.

26. Each year, the Directorate for Health Promotion and Health in Schools plans awareness-raising sessions for young people in schools. As a part of those efforts, the National Reproductive Health Reference Centre has been requested to work in schools and to lead the discussion on reproductive health.

27. The aim of the above-mentioned sessions is to teach young people about reproductive health and the importance of a healthy lifestyle within the family. These events have made it possible to reach out to a large number of young girls and boys in upper and lower secondary schools.

28. The following issues are tackled during the sessions:

- Puberty/adolescence;
- The risks associated with early sexual activity;
- The signs of pregnancy;
- The risks associated with early pregnancy, including sexually transmitted infections/AIDS;
- Clandestine abortions;
- Emergency contraception;
- The harmful effects of female genital mutilation.

Radio and television programmes

29. Officials of the National Reproductive Health Reference Centre have appeared on several programmes produced by Djibouti radio and television and the National Education Centre for Research and Pedagogical Information:

Theme	*Platform*	*Languages*
Radio programmes on the harmful effects of female genital mutilation Radio programmes on sexual and reproductive health among young persons	National Education Centre for Research and Pedagogical Information	Afar Somali French
Radio programmes promoting the work of the National Reproductive Health Reference Centre Television programmes on various aspects of reproductive health (infertility/reproductive health among young persons/family planning /menopause/cancer screening)	Djibouti radio and television	Afar Somali
Two television programmes on the importance of screening for breast cancer	Djibouti radio and television	Afar Somali

Design of information, education and communication tools

30. Three tools have been designed:

- A leaflet on breast cancer screening;
- A leaflet on cervical cancer screening;
- A leaflet promoting the work of the National Reproductive Health Reference Centre.

Awareness-raising about family planning for staff at the Ministry for the Advancement of Women

31. Following a request from the team at the Ministry for the Advancement of Women, who since May 2012 have been responsible for promoting family planning, an information session on family planning was held at the Ministry.

32. During the session, the following issues relating to family planning were addressed:

- Causes of maternal and infant morbidity and mortality;
- The role of family planning in reducing maternal and infant morbidity and mortality/expected outcomes of family planning;
- What family planning involves;
- The history of family planning in Djibouti: goals/achievements/target groups;
- Information: women's attitudes, etc.;
- Constraints;
- Opportunities;
- Outlook for the future.

Awareness-raising among women outreach workers from civil society

33. The Ministry for the Advancement of Women and the National Union of Djiboutian Women organized two discussion days on the promotion of birth spacing.

34. The events were run by the team put in charge of promoting family planning nearly a year ago comprising officials from the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Muslim Affairs and the Ministry for the Advancement of Women.

35. The National Reproductive Health Reference Centre and the Directorate for Maternal and Child Health were chosen to lead the awareness-raising sessions. The first day was devoted to the official launch of the event by the Minister for the Advancement of Women and Family Planning, in the presence of the Minister for the Budget, the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Health and the head of the local office of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA).

36. In her speech, the Minister for the Advancement of Women and Family Planning emphasized the importance of raising awareness of family planning at the grass-roots level in order to reduce maternal and neonatal mortality.

37. The two-day discussion focused on the following themes:

- Context and importance of family planning;
- The history and evolution of family planning in Djibouti;
- Implementation strategies;
- Methods available in Djibouti;

- Constraints;
- Possible solutions;
- Why women are unwilling to use reproductive health services;
- The reasons for delays in seeking reproductive health care;
- How to improve maternal and infant health;
- How to persuade women to adopt birth spacing;
- The role of men in family planning;
- The role of associations in the promotion of family planning.

Awareness-raising about the work of the National Reproductive Health Reference Centre among doctors working in community health centres

38. An information and discussion session involving doctors from community health centres, and staff from the National Reproductive Health Reference Centre and the Directorate for the Health Regions was organized. The aim of the event was to increase the rate of use of the National Reproductive Health Reference Centre, to publicize the various services on offer and to encourage the exchange of best practices.

39. The session focused on:

- The chief purpose of the National Reproductive Health Reference Centre;
- The goals set;
- The terms of reference of the National Reproductive Health Reference Centre;
- Services currently on offer;
- Services planned for the future;
- Human resources available;
- The tasks of the various units;
- Desired cooperation;
- Clients/patients;
- Daily activities;
- Current fees.

40. The discussions were fruitful and the doctors showed a great deal of interest in the reproductive health services offered by the Centre. There was unanimous support for the establishment of a training programme for practising midwives and an awareness-raising workshop for youth and female members of associations. The doctors also visited the various units of the Centre.

Domestic violence, including marital rape

The State party should strengthen the legal framework for the protection of women against domestic violence by specifically criminalizing domestic violence, including marital rape. It should guarantee that cases of domestic violence and marital rape are thoroughly investigated and prosecuted. The State party should also ensure that law enforcement officials are provided with appropriate training to deal with domestic violence and sufficient, adequately resourced shelters are available. The State party

should further organize awareness-raising campaigns for men and women on the adverse effects of violence against women on the enjoyment of their human rights.

41. Marital rape remains taboo and is not covered by domestic legislation. However, the courts may consider such conduct as constituting acts of violence punishable under criminal law.

42. Article 33 of the Family Code provides: "In cases where one of the spouses complains of any harm inflicted by the other spouse but cannot provide evidence to that effect, and if the judge is unable to determine the guilt of the alleged offender, the judge shall appoint two arbitrators. Once they have considered the case, the arbitrators shall, to the extent possible, reconcile the spouses and, in all cases, shall report their findings to the judge."

Prohibition of torture and ill-treatment

The State party should ensure that allegations of torture and ill-treatment are thoroughly investigated and that perpetrators are prosecuted and, if convicted, punished with appropriate sanctions, and that the victims are adequately compensated. The State party should establish an independent mechanism to carry out investigations of alleged misconduct by law enforcement officials. In this connection, the State party should also ensure that law enforcement officials continue to receive training on investigating torture and ill-treatment by integrating the 1999 Manual on the Effective Investigation and Documentation of Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (Istanbul Protocol) into all relevant training programmes. The State party should indicate in its next periodic report the number of law enforcement officials trained and the impact of such training.

43. In its initial report on the implementation of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the Republic of Djibouti set out in detail the steps it had taken to prevent and combat the potential abuse and ill-treatment of persons living on its territory.

44. The allegations of torture and ill-treatment levelled at Djibouti are false and groundless.

45. One example of such allegations is the case of Mohamed Abdallah Salah-Assad, who filed an application with the African Commission on Human and People's Rights alleging that the Government of Djibouti had committed acts of torture and ill-treatment.

46. The Commission dismissed the application and consequently found in favour of the Government of Djibouti, clearing it of the allegations made.

47. Lastly, Djibouti has continued its efforts to train law enforcement officials. In 2014, with the support of the regional office of the OHCHR, the National Human Rights Commission and UNFPA, the Government of Djibouti prepared a legal handbook for the criminal police to ensure its strict compliance with the general rules and principles governing human rights during inquiries and investigations.

48. In November 2014, a two-day training session on the handbook was held for officials of the police, gendarmerie, coastguard and prison service, as a part of efforts to ensure its use in practice.

49. The handbook will continue to be disseminated.

Freedoms of expression and of assembly and association

The State party should:

(a) Take appropriate measures to guarantee in law and in practice, and to create an environment conducive to, the exercise of the rights to freedom of expression, peaceful association and assembly;

(b) Revise its legislation to ensure that any restriction on press and media activities is in strict compliance with article 19, paragraph 3, of the Covenant. In particular, it should review the registration requirements for newspapers and abolish prison terms for defamation and similar media offences. It should expedite the functioning of the National Communication Commission and take all above-mentioned measures in line with article 19, paragraph 3, as further explained in the Committee's general comment No. 34 (2011) on freedoms of opinion and expression;

(c) Release, rehabilitate and provide adequate judicial redress and compensation for journalists imprisoned in contravention of article 19 of the Covenant; and

(d) Give space to civil society organizations to promote their activities and prosecute those who threaten, harass or intimidate such organizations and human rights defenders and journalists.

50. The Constitution states that all persons have the right to freedom of expression and to freely disseminate their opinions through speech, the written word and images (Title II, art. 15).

51. Freedom of the press as enshrined in the Constitution is governed in practice by the provisions of Act No. 2/AN/92/2 L, which apply to all forms and means of communication. Such freedom must not be used to promote racism, tribalism or fanaticism (art. 4).

52. A national communications commission has been set up to ensure accessibility to information from a wide range of sources (art. 5).

53. Foreign media broadcast throughout the country and cable news and other programmes are accessible.

Conditions of detention

The State party should strengthen its efforts to improve the living conditions and treatment of detainees and address overcrowding in line with the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. The State party should establish a confidential mechanism for receiving and processing complaints lodged by detainees and include information thereon in its next periodic report, in addition to data on the prison population.

54. As already stated in our various reports to the treaty bodies, the Government is working to improve conditions of detention, focusing in particular on overcrowding in prisons.

55. Until 2011, there was only one prison in Djibouti which sometimes had problems relating to overcrowding.

56. In order to address the problems, the Government opened two further detention facilities, each one capable of housing up to 100 inmates.

57. As to independent complaints mechanisms, detainees have the right to file complaints with the various competent authorities, including:

- The public prosecutor;

- The investigating judge;
- The judge responsible for sentence enforcement.

58. Detainees can also refer their grievances or complaints to the National Human Rights Commission, which carries out visits to detention facilities on a regular basis, both when detainees are taken into police custody and when they are imprisoned.

Post-electoral violence

The State party should ensure that all allegations of serious human rights violations, including those regarding the 2011 and 2013 election-related demonstrations, are adequately and impartially investigated, that the perpetrators are brought to justice and the victims adequately compensated. The State party should organize training sessions for its law enforcement officials to ensure they carry out their activities in accordance with human rights standards, including the Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials.

59. No cases of victims of firearm-related incidents have been recorded by the Government of Djibouti, despite the fact that, since 2013, the political climate has been marked by demonstrations. Such events are monitored and managed by the competent authorities in line with the principles and rules in force, as disseminated by the National Human Rights Commission through training workshops for law enforcement officials.

60. Moreover, it should be noted that the purpose of the arrests of individuals carried out on the side-lines of demonstrations was to maintain public order and prevent any violence.

61. Under the framework accord signed on 30 December 2014, the opposition parties and the Government agreed to "put a stop to any act which might give rise to tensions between the public authorities and opposition activists" to ease the climate of tension that had prevailed during the previous months.

62. It is also important to emphasize that, as part of the political dialogue, the two parties have "undertaken to ensure observance of the Constitution, laws and fundamental freedoms, in order to safeguard and strengthen democracy in the Republic of Djibouti".

Pretrial detention

The State party should enhance its efforts to ensure effective compliance with the rights protected under articles 9 and 14, paragraph 3 (c), of the Covenant. The State party should also encourage the implementation of alternatives to detention by courts taking into account the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for Non-Custodial Measures and should take urgent measures regarding the situation of inmates who have been in pretrial detention for many years. It should further take appropriate action to ensure that convicted persons are not detained together with pretrial detainees.

63. In Djibouti, the rights enshrined in article 9 of the Covenant have constitutional status and are therefore fully guaranteed for all persons brought before the criminal courts or deprived of their liberty.

64. Of course, as a rule persons found guilty of an offence are imprisoned; however, judges can also employ other means of dispute resolution, such as legal warnings, mediation and awarding compensation to victims.

65. In Djiboutian detention facilities, convicted persons are held separately from pretrial detainees and minors are held separately from adult detainees.

Fair trial

The State party should take all necessary measures to ensure, in law and in practice, that all legal safeguards are afforded to all, including the right to be assisted by a lawyer. It should guarantee the independence of the judiciary.

66. As already pointed out in previous reports, the right to be assisted by a lawyer and the independence of the judiciary are enshrined in the Constitution.

67. In accordance with the principle of fair trial, Djibouti has developed the following measures in order to facilitate access to justice for the poorest segments of society:

- Legal aid is systematically granted to all defendants who do not have the means to employ a lawyer;
- A centre providing defendants with assistance, information and guidance concerning complex legal procedures has been established;
- Mobile hearings are held for defendants in areas where there are no courts.

Participation in public affairs

The State party should promote the right of all Djiboutian citizens to participate in public life and exercise their political rights without any intimidation or harassment.

68. Since the previous parliamentary elections, the Government has encouraged the various political parties to participate in political debates within the relevant public institutions, particularly Parliament.

69. Following two initial attempts at dialogue, the parties (both the ruling majority and the opposition) finally agreed to sign a framework accord on 30 December 2014.

70. The first point of the framework accord signed between the Government and the Union for National Salvation, concerning the amnesty granted to three clerics and the restoration of their civic rights and the amnesty granted to convicted members of the Union for National Salvation as of 23 February 2013, would seem to indicate that the Government remains committed to encouraging the peaceful and non-violent participation of all parties in political debate.

71. The parties to the framework accord agreed to set up a joint commission responsible for making proposals relating to major institutional and political reforms.

72. Furthermore, in his speech at the signature ceremony for the framework accord, the President of the Republic and Head of Government made the following promise: "I undertake to guarantee that each and every one of the terms of this framework accord shall be respected and fully implemented."

Juvenile justice, corporal punishment, violence against children

The State party should strengthen the juvenile justice system with adequate financial and human resources. It should also ensure that juvenile offenders are separated from adults and promote alternative sanctions to imprisonment so that juvenile offenders are detained for as short a period of time as possible and only as a last resort. The State party should investigate and prosecute those responsible for sexual violence against juvenile detainees.

The State party should take practical steps to put an end to corporal punishment of children in all settings, including in the home. It should encourage non-violent forms of discipline and conduct public information campaigns to raise awareness of the harmful effects of any form of violence against children.

The State party should increase its efforts to combat violence and sexual abuse against children by:

(a) Strengthening its public awareness-raising campaign on these issues and providing detailed information on the work of the National Child Council in its next periodic report; and

(b) Prosecuting and sanctioning those responsible for violence and sexual abuse against children.

73. Regarding the rights of the child and particularly the right of the child to protection, in 2014, the Government of Djibouti compiled an inventory of relevant national legislation. That was followed up by a process of in-depth analysis, during which a number of shortcomings were identified, the most serious/significant of which were:

- The lack of preventive mechanisms for tackling juvenile delinquency;
- The lack of non-custodial measures.

74. In order to address the above-mentioned shortcomings, a bill is being considered for adoption. It will introduce the following measures:

- The judicial authorities will be able to intervene as soon as a child is in a situation of risk, vagrancy, ill-treatment, etc.;
- The establishment of a mediation mechanism;
- Shorter police custody from the current 48 hours to 12 hours;
- The obligation to separate minor detainees from adult detainees as soon as they are taken into police custody.

75. The Government undertakes to provide the Committee with a copy of the act once it has been promulgated.

76. As a part of efforts to improve the situation of children in conflict with the law, the Government has agreed on a plan of action with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). The plan focuses on three areas:

- Capacity-building for persons working in the area of juvenile justice;
- The provision of support to juvenile judges by experienced judges and prosecutors from countries with relatively advanced juvenile justice systems;
- International consultations to analyse the backlog affecting the juvenile justice system.

77. Lastly, the National Child Council is an interministerial body chaired by the Prime Minister and composed of ministers responsible for issues relating to children.

78. The National Child Council was set up as a part of the National Strategic Plan for Children in Djibouti and has the following tasks:

- Promoting the rights of the child through the implementation of the National Strategic Plan for Children in Djibouti, including through educational activities and the preparation of preliminary draft legislation and regulations for the Government with a view to ensuring better observance of the rights of the child;
- Coordinating activities carried out by the various bodies working in the field of children's rights and child protection;
- Contributing to the preparation and approval of general policies on children and child development strategies;

- Ensuring that the children's dimension is taken into account in national development programmes and the annual action plans of sectoral departments, in close cooperation with the relevant ministries, with the aim of promoting, protecting and implementing the rights of the children relating to their health, nutrition, education, emotional development, social protection and participation, with a particular focus on the most vulnerable children;
- Sustained advocacy aimed at national decision makers, particularly those responsible for policy and the national budget;
- Advocacy to ensure that part of the national State budget is allocated to children's issues;
- Documenting situations of violence, abuse, neglect or exploitation that involve children;
- Preparing a half-yearly report on the implementation of the National Strategic Plan for Children in Djibouti and policies, programmes and sectoral action plans targeting children;
- Monitoring the preparation, approval, submission and presentation of national reports on the implementation of regional and international instruments relating to the rights of the child;
- Monitoring the implementation of international recommendations on the realization and protection of children's rights.

79. The National Child Council meets twice a year and as and when it is convened by the Prime Minister.

Refugees

The State party should increase its ongoing efforts and:

(a) Enact comprehensive legislation guaranteeing efficient protection of refugees and asylum seekers;

(b) Strengthen the National Asylum Eligibility Commission and establish a fair and efficient refugee status determination process, including at the appeal level, to ensure that the principle of non-refoulement is strictly respected;

(c) Continue to issue a birth certificate to every newborn refugee child to protect refugee children and prevent statelessness; and

(d) Continue to strengthen mechanisms to prevent and prosecute sexual and gender-based violence, including by ensuring access to a confidential reporting mechanism and mobile courts.

80. The Government provides protection and assistance for refugees and disaster victims through the National Commission for Refugees and the National Office for Assistance to Refugees and Disaster Victims.

81. As part of its refugee-assistance activities, the Government cooperates with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other humanitarian organizations.

82. Furthermore, in 2014, with the support of bilateral and multilateral partners, the State developed a capacity-building project targeted at young refugees without qualifications. Under the project, around 250 young persons will receive various types of vocational training so that they can find employment.

83. The Government does not expel or repatriate persons to countries where their lives or freedom might be at risk.

Trafficking

The State party should continue its ongoing efforts to provide training to law enforcement officials and border and other relevant personnel to apply the Human Trafficking Act. It should increase efforts aimed at ensuring that all perpetrators of human trafficking are brought to justice and the victims adequately compensated.

84. The purpose of Act No. 210/AN/07/5 L on the fight against human trafficking is to prevent and suppress human trafficking, to protect victims, to ensure that prosecutions are conducted with respect for human rights and to promote international cooperation in the fight against human trafficking (art. 5).

85. The Act applies to all forms of human trafficking, regardless of the nationality of the perpetrator(s) and of whether such trafficking is linked to organized crime.

86. Djibouti has prepared a national plan to combat human trafficking and is seeking funding within the framework of bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation.